DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 338 105 FL 019 852

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TITLE Describing Bilingual Education Classrooms. The Role of the Teacher in Evaluation.
INSTITUTION National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, Rosslyn, VA.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-89763-050-5
PUB DATE 80
CONTRACT 400-77-0101
NOTE 55p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingual Education; *Classroom Techniques; *Data Collection; *Educational Research; Elementary Secondary Education; *Evaluation Methods; Evaluation Needs; Research Methodology; *Teacher Role

ABSTRACT

Directed primarily at teachers in bilingual programs, this report suggests ways in which they may assist evaluators in improving the quality of evaluation, particularly regarding descriptive information about the bilingual classroom. Six principles of classroom description are examined: (1) program model, type, and design; (2) student characteristics; (3) instructional methods; (4) teacher and student language use patterns; (5) functional language ability; and (6) development of language skills. Teachers are asked to respond to an example that highlights one or more aspects of each principle; emphasis is on practical, immediate steps that the classroom teacher can take to improve the quality of evaluation. It is noted that some of the information about the classroom may be relatively inaccessible to anyone but the teacher since it reflects cumulative insights gleaned from repeated encounters with students on a daily basis. Contains approximately 60 references. (LB)

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Describing Bilingual Education Classrooms

The Role of the Teacher in Evaluation

Andrew D. Cohen

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NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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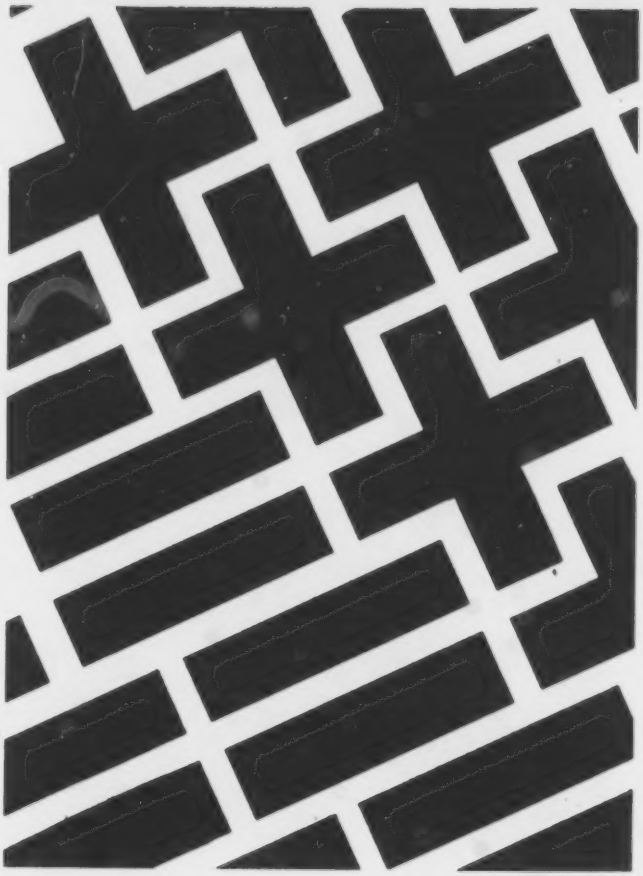

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Cover design by Richard Plá. Plá/Mauro Associates, Inc., Washington, D.C.
Typesetting by Eagle One Graphics, Lanham, Maryland

ISBN: 0-89763-050-5
Printed in USA
First printing 1980

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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Foreword

In this work Dr. Andrew D. Cohen clarifies the types of evaluation applied to bilingual education programs and suggests ways in which teachers can assist evaluators in order to ensure accurate assessment of such programs. The discussions of general principles, specific classroom situations and practical recommendations for teachers are also intended to enhance administrators' and evaluators' understanding of teachers' contributions to the evaluation process.

Dr. Andrew D. Cohen is senior lecturer at the School of Education and director of the Centre for Applied Linguistics, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is chairman of the Israeli Association for Applied Linguistics and associate chairman of the TESOL Research Committee; currently he is also a visiting professor in the TESOL program at the University of California, Los Angeles. His publications include *A Sociolinguistic Approach to Bilingual Education* (Newbury House, 1975), *Evaluating Evaluation*, with M. Bruck and F.V. Rodríguez-Brown (Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Va., 1979), and *Testing Language Ability in the Classroom* (Newbury House, 1980).

One of the activities of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education is to publish documents addressing the specific information needs of the bilingual education community. We are proud to add this distinguished title to our growing list of publications. Subsequent Clearinghouse products will similarly seek to contribute information and knowledge that can assist in the education of minority culture and language groups in the United States.

National Clearinghouse
for Bilingual Education

Describing Bilingual Education Classrooms: The Role of the Teacher in Evaluation

Introduction

As bilingual education continues to be a prominent force on the North American educational scene, evaluation of bilingual programs is becoming increasingly refined. Practicing and prospective evaluators are now able to obtain extensive if not exhaustive descriptions of what it is they may or should evaluate (see, for example, Bissell, 1979; Burry, 1979).

There are two basic types of evaluation, formative and summative (Scriven, 1967). *Formative evaluation* involves data gathering to help improve the program under development. Such evaluation is intended to provide feedback to teachers at regular intervals, thus allowing for midcourse corrections if certain students are not progressing adequately under the given instructional approach. *Summative evaluation* is concerned with producing terminal judgments about overall program worth. Such evaluation deals with the generalized, long-range effects of the project. It usually takes the form of standardized tests or project-made tests of general skills (those not taught only to students in the project), given on a pretest-posttest basis at the start and finish of each school year.

Program evaluators are often brought in from outside to increase the objectivity of the evaluation, and they are often requested to focus on summative evaluation. If the evaluators are external to the program, they may, consequently, have limited knowledge about the range of special factors pertaining to the particular bilingual program. Hence, it seems reasonable for teachers to think more about steps they can take to ensure accurate evaluation of their programs. The teacher can play an invaluable role both in guiding evaluators in the design of evaluation by identifying key variables to consider and in helping to interpret the results once the data have been analyzed.

It may be argued that it is not a teacher's business to get involved in evaluation. It was found in one study (Cohen and Roll, 1979), for example, that teachers had difficulties adhering to stringent guidelines for collecting oral ("natural") data from children in their classrooms, for transcribing these data, and for scoring them. On the other hand, teachers' assistance in designing evaluation and in interpreting results may be crucial if meaningful evaluation is to take place. Teachers can assist in evaluation by describing what they already are aware of and by turning their awareness and powers of observation to classroom phenomena they did not previously attend to.

Without some assistance from project staff—and teachers seem to be the best source—evaluators may draw inappropriate conclusions about the nature of bilingual education classrooms, conclusions that lead to statements which misrepresent the reality of these classrooms. A recent large-scale evaluation of bilingual schooling (American Institutes for Research, 1977), for example, came under criticism for failing to pay adequate attention to factors characterizing the actual bilingual education classroom, such as distinguishing student and program characteristics.

What are the advantages of accurate evaluation? Why should the teacher be motivated to participate in evaluation efforts, however minimally? A recent convocation of experts (Bissell, 1979) produced the following list of potential benefits of evaluation reports:

1. Identifying project components that are highly successful
2. Describing a project to parents of participants and nonparticipants to encourage interest in it
3. Informing decision makers about the rationale for and the benefits of the project
4. Conveying information about the project to other locations and institutions of higher education
5. Providing a morale booster for teachers and administrative staff, who see the evaluation report as testimony to their efforts in making the project work.

Obviously, there is also the real possibility that evaluation will point up certain weaknesses, and the concerned teacher should welcome such information along with the suggested modifications that might stem from such findings.

This monograph is directed primarily at teachers in bilingual programs. Its intent is to suggest ways in which they may assist evaluators to improve the quality of evaluation. The monograph will mostly speak to those aspects of evaluation that relate directly to teachers and their work—namely, descriptive information about the bilingual classroom. The monograph is also directed to administrators and evalua-

tors in bilingual education to enhance their understanding of how teachers can contribute to the evaluative process. The importance of moving beyond project documents found in administrative offices to actual classrooms is that the documents may describe program characteristics which do not reflect the actual state of affairs in the classroom as the teacher knows it to be.

We will focus our attention on some of the principles of classroom description—principles that are intended to be particularly relevant to evaluation of classroom aspects of bilingual education programs. The principles selected for discussion are (1) program model, type, and design; (2) student characteristics; (3) instructional methods; (4) teacher and student language use patterns; (5) functional language ability; and (6) development of language skills.

First, the principle is presented. Second, an example that highlights one or more aspects of this principle is described briefly. Third, you are asked to respond to the example through an exercise. These exercises vary in nature according to the principle involved. Exercises 1 and 3 call for interpretation of results, while exercise 4 calls both for interpretation and for recommendations as to changing teaching patterns. Exercise 2 calls for suggesting a meaningful grouping of student test scores for purposes of data analysis, exercise 5 calls for suggesting an alternate approach to language assessment, and exercise 6 calls for suggestions for assessing the reading process and for investigating a poor score on a standardized reading test. Details are often omitted from the descriptions of the situations in order to allow opportunity for more creative thought in the exercise phase. In each exercise you are asked to play the role of the teacher in the particular situation. After each exercise, a discussion will be provided. For the sake of simplicity, English is considered the dominant societal language in all the situations presented, and the nondominant language is referred to as the "minority language."

The case-study part of this paper does not concern itself with nonclassroom variables such as parental involvement, nor is any effort made to deal with the complete range of classroom variables influencing the outcomes of bilingual program evaluation. Discussion of such variables has been saved for mention later in the monograph. The main intent is to emphasize practical, immediate steps that the classroom teacher can take to improve the quality of evaluation. It is my hope that a discussion of certain principles in evaluating bilingual classrooms may contribute to improving the evaluation product. The selection of principles for discussion (as well as the possible bias inherent in the selection) reflects to a large extent the author's experiences as an evaluator in four different evaluation contexts—three of them small-scale and one statewide. Thus, the monograph will at times be offering a particular point of view, which the reader may or may not agree with. The important thing is to consider the issues.

Principle 1

Program Model, Type, and Design

Since the *particular* program model, type, and design of bilingual schooling can have an important effect on evaluation results, the individual aspects should be carefully identified and described. The program **model** refers to the basic broad classes of bilingual programs (e.g., transitional, maintenance, enrichment, restorative). The program **type** refers to the specific characteristics of the particular model (e.g., a maintenance program that promotes minority language maintenance in all subject areas v. one that focuses on maintenance in selected areas). The program **design** refers to characteristics of the particular program type (e.g., within a full bilingual maintenance program, the first and second languages are both introduced in early stages and emphasized equally later on). (See Trueba, 1979, for a complete discussion of the distinctions between model, type, and design.)

Regarding the program model, the evaluator would need to examine and indicate the following in the report:

- Is the program transitional, maintenance, enrichment, or restorative?

Regarding the program type:

- How is bilingual instruction actually implemented? Are the two languages used concurrently as media of instruction? Are they used alternately (e.g., mornings in one language and afternoons in the other; Mondays in one language and Tuesdays in another)? Is special instruction in English as a second language provided?
- How much of the day—in actual classroom minutes or hours—is reserved for bilingual schooling?

- Is the program team-taught with two or more teachers? Are there one or more paid aides in the classroom?

Regarding the program design:

- What are the ethnic and language backgrounds of the students? How are the students grouped in the classroom (e.g., homogeneously or heterogeneously by native language)?
- Are the students in a self-contained classroom for bilingual instruction or do they receive bilingual instruction in several classrooms (as through team-teaching, departmentalized instruction, or pull-out programs)?
- How many of the school's classrooms and which grade levels have bilingual instruction? How many schools in the district are included in the bilingual program?

Across model, type, and design:

- Have there been major changes in any of the above-mentioned factors over time (i.e., is the program stable or changing?)?

EXAMPLE

Suppose that your school district has a bilingual program in three of its schools. Two schools are entirely reserved for bilingual education grades K-4, while one school has a program in half of its classrooms grades K-4. You are a teacher at this third school, teaching in the bilingual program at the fourth-grade level. Two-thirds of your students are native speakers of the minority language; one-third are native speakers of English and members of the majority culture. Your entire day is devoted to bilingual schooling in a self-contained classroom. You have a paid paraprofessional aide in your classroom. You and your aide are both native speakers of the minority language. Your own English skills are as good as your minority language skills. Your aide is stronger in the minority language.

The program has been in existence for five years. The text of the original project proposal stated that the program was intended to maintain and preserve knowledge of the minority language. As of last year, the proposal began to emphasize transition from bilingual instruction to English-only instruction, with the result that learners are now being prepared to make this shift as soon as they are ready. Three years of bilingual schooling is now proposed to be the maximum amount of time they need to develop skills considered adequate for exiting from the program.

Evaluators have just tested attitudes of students in your class toward self, school, and community, and found results that you had not

expected. Your minority language students, who have been in bilingual schooling for five years, come out lower on scales of self-acceptance, social maturity, school affiliation, achievement motivation, and social security than students in lower grades who have been in the program for fewer years. It is your firm belief that you are providing the students with an educational program suited to their needs and desires, but the students' attitudes according to the assessment seem to belie this belief.

EXERCISE

The objective of this first exercise is to identify aspects of the program model that would affect student performance on such an attitudinal instrument. Drawing on the previous brief description and on other dimensions that may not have been spelled out, list some factors that might have produced these apparently negative student attitudes toward self, school, and community.

DISCUSSION

As a teacher in the program, you may well be able to help the evaluator interpret the findings. For example, it may be that since only half of your classroom at each grade level are designated for bilingual instruction, these classrooms have been stigmatized by the students as being remedial and therefore less desirable than the mainstream classrooms. Such a stigma may have an increasing impact upon the students the longer they are in the program. Such a stigma could tarnish the students' attitudes toward themselves, toward school, and toward their status in the community.

Also, the program may well have started as a language maintenance program to help instill in the students a sense of pride in their native language and ethnic group. In fact, in the earlier grades the atmosphere may still be one of language maintenance. However, it is possible that at all grade levels, or at least in the upper grades, the program has evolved into a transitional one, with a premium being put on gaining mastery of English and doing so quickly. Regardless of whether you or your colleagues are overtly playing up the English language and mainstream ethnicity at the expense of minority language and ethnicity, the students may well be getting this message. (See "Principle 4: Teacher and Student Language Use Patterns," for more on how teachers may signal language preference.)

Of course, a series of other factors might have affected the results. Perhaps the measure of attitudes did not yield an accurate assessment because the students did not respond reliably (e.g., they did not understand wh. , desired; they were unwilling to cooperate, due to fatigue or wh r). Sometimes teachers are in a good position to evaluate this aspect, if they are present when the instrument is administered (but, ideally, not involved in the actual administration process). Another problem is associated with giving the same attitudinal measure across grade levels. Students at lower levels may not be as capable of providing accurate answers as older students. Sometimes there are different versions of the instrument for different levels, but how equivalent are they? Issues like these are usually beyond the scope of the teacher's involvement in evaluation, but evaluators need to consider them.

Assuming the instrument was obtaining reliable answers, then there are still several other possible explanations for the results. One is the novelty effect. Enthusiasm for any program may taper off after several years. Most of these fourth-grade students have been in the bilingual program for five years, and so much of the novelty in what they are doing has already worn off, and routine has set in. Second, perhaps societal forces toward assimilation are powerful enough to communicate to the students the importance of being in a mainstream program compared with a bilingual one.

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It is also important to ask whether other aspects of the program might have an effect on student attitudes. For example, it was stated in the description of the situation that you teach in a self-contained classroom. In a study comparing bilingual programs in self-contained classrooms with those using separate rooms for each language, students scored lowest in English reading and in math when studying in self-contained classrooms and highest in English reading, Spanish reading, and math when studying in separate rooms (Chicago Board of Education, 1977). These kinds of findings simply play up the relevance of accurate program description in interpreting student achievement in bilingual programs.

It would also be interesting to look at the grouping of students in the classroom. If during a major portion of the day, the minority language speakers are separated from the English speakers, this could adversely affect students' attitudes toward the bilingual program. It has been pointed out that grouping itself "constitutes a strategy of bilingualization . . . since much of language learning is achieved through pupil interaction" (Mackey, 1978, p. 13). Grouping could imply assignment to separate classrooms according to language dominance or to separate groups within the same classroom. Both approaches may have similar effects.

Principle 2

Student Characteristics

Accurate characterization of students is not easy, but it is essential if the results of evaluation are to be meaningful. Current theories about bilingualism and cognitive development have helped provide more precise ways of describing student characteristics than in the past. For example, the following variables should be considered:

1. The student's *absolute* proficiency in each of two languages, not just *relative* proficiency (usually referred to as *language dominance*). In other words, what seems to be the student's total grasp of vocabulary in both languages? Perhaps receptive reading vocabulary is relatively modest in both languages (i.e., with regard to a basic word list). What is the child's control of the grammar of both languages? For example, the student may appear to have control of most, if not all, of the grammatical structures in both languages that a native speaker the same age would have. The concept of absolute proficiency is an important one. Sometimes statements of relative proficiency are misleading because they do not indicate limitations that students may have in certain areas (e.g., in vocabulary) of *both* languages.
2. The student's level of cognitive functioning in the classroom. Theory now has it that bilingual children need to develop proficiency in at least one of their languages above a basic "threshold" level in order to learn cognitive structures without difficulty (Cummins, 1978). Teachers may have some insights into the ease or difficulty with which particular students learn new concepts in class. They may be aware of particular students who have trouble

learning a math concept when presented both in English and in the minority language. Then the teachers notice certain limitations in the *absolute* proficiency of the students in the two languages, and a reason for the conceptual difficulty presents itself: the students have difficulty conceptualizing altogether. They need to develop language proficiency more fully (according to the theory), perhaps with an initial emphasis on the mother tongue, the minority language. A student with low language proficiency in both languages has been referred to as a "semilingual" rather than a "bilingual." Semilingualism implies limited development in both languages of dimensions of language proficiency strongly related to overall cognitive and academic skills (Cummins, 1979). Furthermore, semilingualism does not necessarily imply lower-class status (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1979).

We would want to add to proficiency and cognitive functioning more traditional variables such as the following:

3. Identification of the student's ethnic group, number of years in the United States, language use outside of school, and socioeconomic status.

4. The student's educational history, particularly the years the child has been in the bilingual program. For example, one student may have attended an English-only kindergarten and entered the bilingual program in grade 1; another student may have been enrolled in a monolingual first-language program in the native country for three years before coming to the United States and entering the bilingual program in grade 3.

EXAMPLE

Suppose you are a first-grade teacher in a bilingual program that was set up to include two-thirds bilingual children and one-third monolingual English speakers, half of whom are ethnically members of the minority group. Five of your students just arrived from another country, where they attended kindergarten in the language of that country. Another five were transferred into your class from a monolingual English kindergarten, largely because they are native speakers of the minority language and it is spoken in their homes. The remaining ten minority language speakers come from families living at low socioeconomic levels, where the minority language is spoken almost exclusively and where there are few educational stimuli encouraging development of native language proficiency among the children (especially with regard to reading and writing). These children have also not developed extensive proficiency in English be-

cause of limited contact with the language and because there is no need to use it at home. All the monolingual English speakers participated in the bilingual kindergarten but picked up relatively little minority language proficiency because it was not essential. All activities were conducted in English, as well.

An evaluator comes into your classroom, tests the children as a single group, and reports group mean scores in reading in English and in the minority language. The reading scores are poor both in English and in the minority language. The evaluator writes a report that is critical of the bilingual education program.

EXERCISE

You can see that it may be meaningless to lump all the scores together for purposes of analysis. As an example, write down your ideas for grouping students for purposes of analyzing their scores. After that, suggest ways in which the program itself may have contributed to limited reading achievement, under the assumption that the program itself can be improved.

DISCUSSION

Since the evaluation is supposedly measuring the effects of bilingual schooling, it would seem crucial to classify students according to the amount of bilingual schooling they have received. If there is a subgroup of students in your classroom who attended English-only kindergarten, it would seem important to look at their results separately from those of students who attended a bilingual kindergarten. Also, if there are students who had a native language kindergarten in their country of origin, this group should be looked at separately.

Then, assuming some sort of bilingual language proficiency test was given to the students prior to this bilingual reading test, it is important to pay attention to the score each student received in each language. Ideally, you will be able to say in gross terms whether a student's performance is poor in both languages, poor in one language and fair in the other, fair in one and good in the other, and so forth. If a given child performed poorly in both languages, this child may be more of a semilingual than a bilingual, as described previously.

The semilingual, then, is a student who would benefit from a strong native language reinforcement program before second language skills can be effectively developed (Cummins, 1979). If such students have been put into a bilingual reading program, the addition of extra demands in the second language could explain poor performance on their part. In other words, their limited native language proficiency may have kept them from reaching a basic threshold of cognitive functioning at the time that they were requested to start developing language s[illegible]d concepts in the second language. You and others in the pr[illegible]m may have thought that they had mastered cognitive structures in both languages, given their superficial fluency in the second language (i.e., appropriate accent, intonation, and common expressions such as greetings, requests, exclamations, insults, and so forth). But this apparent fluency may actually have represented a facade masking the child's lack of mastery of basic concepts (see Cummins, 1978).

Another relevant question is the ethnicity of the students. Looking, for example, at the minority language reading scores of the English monolingual students (five from the majority group and five from the minority group), it may be that the majority-group students perform somewhat better than the minority students of similar cognitive ability. Why would this be? Perhaps the minority students are less keen attitudinally about identifying with their ethnic group through reading in that language than are the majority students who have less emotional investment in the undertaking. Such results have actually been found in certain communities (e.g., in Rosemead, California; see Cohen, 1975a). In other words, the English-monolingual *minority*

students may come out poorer on a concrete performance measure in the minority language, such as reading. If so, the explanation could be a conscious or unconscious ambivalence about identification with their language of origin.

Principle 3

Instructional Methods

As teachers know only too well from daily experience in the classroom, the instructional method in a bilingual program is not simply "bilingual education," although it makes evaluation easier to look at it that way. In reality, the success of a program may well depend on the nature of the *specific* approach to oral skills, to reading, and to subject matter. With respect to an oral language program, for example, the evaluator needs to know the following:

1. Is there formal oral language instruction in the second language? If so, to what extent do the instructional methods emphasize meaningful communication as opposed to focusing strictly on form? For example, memory of dialogs and pattern practice drills may emphasize form extensively and perhaps exclusively, whereas practicing utterances in meaningful contexts and engaging in communicative exercises may emphasize natural language more.

2. Are there teacher guidelines for the program? For example, in some programs teachers use ready-made lesson plans prepared commercially or by the local district. Such lesson plans take the form of actual scripts that the teachers are to read. If there are guidelines, it is useful to know how carefully teachers adhere to them.

With respect to reading, the evaluator needs to know the following:

1. Which language did the students begin reading in? Their native

language? The second language? Or did they start reading in both languages simultaneously?

2. Is there a particular reading method or combination of methods being used for teaching reading in each language (e.g., the phonemic approach, the linguistic-phonemic approach, the language experience approach; see Aukerman, 1971)?

3. Are the materials for teaching reading in both languages equally good? Sometimes materials in one language (usually English) have been field tested more extensively, and only the most interesting and challenging stories and exercises have been retained in the final commercial version. Field testing also helps to establish whether the particular approach to reading seems best for the majority of students in the given language. Sometimes one reading series includes a better system for giving students feedback about their progress—either through step-by-step programmed activities or through meaningful tests at the end of each unit. Some materials are better than others at recycling previous material to reinforce vocabulary and structures presented in the earlier material.

4. Assuming all students are using the same method, is the material sequenced the same for all of them?

5. Do students who are using the same readers progress at the same pace or at different paces? Do they progress by group or individually, as through the contract approach, whereby each student makes a contract with the teacher as to how much he or she will read?

6. Are students grouped by ability, by interest, or homogeneously according to language dominance? Is there total-class instruction?

7. Is scheduling flexible? Are students in nongraded classroom

8. What is the ratio of teachers and paraprofessionals to children? What is the language proficiency of the instructors in each of their languages?

9. What efforts have been made in the classroom to promote biliteracy (e.g., bulletin boards, store corners, reading centers, signs, school/classroom post office, newspapers, magazines, books)?

EXAMPLE

You are the minority language teacher in a team-teaching situation in a bilingual third-grade classroom. You have been teaching only three years. Your colleague who concentrates on English language instruction has had fifteen years of experience teaching English language

skills. The method for teaching oral skills in English as a second language is similar to that for teaching the minority language as a second language to English-dominant children. In both cases, students receive pattern practice drills consisting of sentences that they are asked to repeat individually and in groups and then modify according to the model.

Because of pressure at the district level not to delay English reading for a year or two, all children began reading readiness in both English and in the minority language in kindergarten and started receiving reading instruction simultaneously in English and in the minority language in first grade. Whereas the English reading program utilized by the district is an eclectic one which has been in use for a number of years (drawing upon the best from a variety of methods), the minority language program is a recent effort, consisting of materials that have not been field tested to any extent and which the students are not too enthusiastic about. They complain that the stories are sometimes too difficult and not very interesting. They find that their English readers are more colorful and fun to read. Furthermore, whereas students are given freedom to adjust their English reading program to their individual needs, the minority language program is more tightly structured. All students, whether English dominant or minority language dominant, are given the same reading materials and grouped according to ability.

An outside evaluator has just tested your students and has found that the students who are supposedly minority language dominant actually score surprisingly better in English reading than in native language reading, although these English reading scores reach only a modest percentile on the national norms. Their English oral language scores, however, are not as high as their English reading scores.

EXERCISE

The school administrators are most upset about these results and look to you to help interpret them. What would be some of the possible points that you would offer in your interpretation?

DISCUSSION

Evaluators who analyze test scores apart from the classroom context lose a good deal of relevant information. The choice of oral language programs could help explain limited progress in oral second language skills. Having students repeat or imitate patterns (words, phrases, or sentences) presented by a teacher, then having pupils alter these patterns or produce new patterns, may not stimulate student oral language growth very much. This, in fact, is what Ramírez and Stromquist (1979) found in a recent study. Legaretta (1979) also looked at English as a second language (ESL) training in both traditional programs and bilingual programs. She found that although the audiolingual approach to ESL appeared to aid comprehension of basic English vocabulary, it did not enhance competence in a communicative situation. Dulay and Burt (1978) give theoretical and empirical grounds for why an ESL curriculum based on imitation, repetition, and memorization of sentence patterns does not enhance performance in communicative situations. They suggest that providing a significant amount of class time for natural communicative situations would allow learners to better use their "creative construction" abilities (i.e., their abilities to acquire language on their own).

Furthermore, a teacher's experience in teaching reading can help increase the students' reading scores, regardless of the language—and in the bilingual movement, it is usually the English reading teacher who has had the opportunity to accrue more years of experience, as in this vignette. By the same token, publishers have had a good deal more experience publishing successful English reading curricula than reading curricula in other languages. More recently, minority language reading materials have improved in quality; nonetheless, the second language market is not characterized by the kind of intense competition that the English reading market faces. All this simply means that English reading methodology has an edge, and that it is important to document the extent to which the minority language reading program is equivalent to its English language counterpart.

It is also worthwhile to note any major changes in the minority language reading program during the year or during the previous several years. In this vignette, it was pointed out that the minority language reading program was more tightly structured than the English reading program, and not tested very much. There have not been many tests to choose from for assessing reading in the minority language, and if such tests exist they have not been normed as have their English language counterparts. In other words, it has not been altogether clear what a certain score on such a test means regarding reading level, given a student's particular grade level.

The depressed nature of the English reading scores among the minority group students, even given that some are monolingual

English speakers, suggests that some of these students may well be semilinguals (see Principle 2)—i.e., students who would benefit from a native language reading program for a year or more, until their cognitive skills are better developed. The simultaneous introduction of reading in the minority language and in English probably creates conflicting signals for them. And in that the English reading materials have the instructional advantages mentioned previously, the students are also probably more motivated to read them. Of course, this vignette does not describe the degree of minority language reading readiness provided in the home, but let us assume that it is limited in that the parents had limited schooling themselves and have limited means for purchasing books and other educational stimuli for the home.

Principle 4

Teacher and Student Language Use Patterns

The teacher's choice of language for classroom management, for discussing content, and for chatting with colleagues during breaks may well transmit attitudes about the two languages to the students. The teacher's language use may, for example, mark one language (usually the minority language) as less acceptable or perhaps even inferior. It is for this reason that it is advisable to audio- or even videotape language use patterns. Such external, objective measures help teachers base their self-assessments upon actual behavior rather than personal impressions.

The evaluator needs to know whether the teacher uses one language only for various portions of the day, or if a particular teacher uses only one language. If, for example, the teacher moves back and forth between languages, is this switching patterned and purposeful (as in the concurrent approach; see Jacobson, 1979) or unsystematic? Switching from one language to another—even carefully planned switching—may promote interference between the two languages (Cohen, 1975b, chapter 8), particularly interference from English when speaking the minority language, since the minority language is usually the more susceptible to erosion in a society where another language is dominant. In other words, this type of erosion of the native language, or "backlash interference" as Jakobovits (1970) has called it, takes place in the Spanish of native Spanish speakers living in an English-speaking country, in the English of English speakers living in a Hebrew-speaking country, and so forth.

To understand language use patterns in the classroom, it is important to describe not only the language use patterns of the teacher, but

also the language use patterns of the students. Student language use patterns may not conform to those of the teacher, although they are often prompted by the teacher's patterns. The language that students use for negotiating or managing activities among themselves, for responding to the teacher, and for thinking to themselves while reading or while trying to solve problems may be somewhat conditioned by the teacher's language use behavior. However, students' language use patterns may also conform to their own patterns of social interaction in the classroom.

If the program is two way in that monolingual English speakers are learning through the minority language while minority language speakers are learning through English, the evaluator may wish to know whether there is genuine two-way bilingual language use, or whether English language use prevails among the monolingual English speakers. Monolingual English-speaking minority students may be particularly resistant to using the minority language. It may be that they are monolingual English speakers *because* they rejected using the minority language early on. Perhaps they consciously or unconsciously sensed negative attitudes in the community at large toward the minority language and felt it better to focus on the majority-group language. Perhaps their older siblings or parents had already made that attitudinal decision before they were born and transmitted it to them. There may also be other reasons for English-speaking minority students to resist using the minority language.

EXAMPLE

Evaluators from the federal government come to your fifth-grade classroom with stopwatches and record the number of minutes of instruction that take place during two hours in both languages. They are concerned about whether each language is getting "equal treatment." As it turns out, the visitors are present mostly for small-group reading in the minority language and for mathematics which is being taught concurrently both in English and in the minority language.

In this concurrent method, you have decided to use either English or the minority language for one of four reasons:

- As a conscious classroom management strategy (e.g., to reinforce a concept, to review, to get attention, or to discipline)
- To be consistent with the curriculum (e.g., to talk about a specific domain or topic)
- To help students' language development (e.g., to enrich the students' vocabularies, to improve their ability to say the same thing in two languages)
- To improve interpersonal relations.

You have obtained these operating principles from Jacobson (1979). Despite your established set of operating principles, you make a conscious effort to use the languages in a balanced way, as does your paraprofessional aide because of the presence of the evaluators. You tend to address the students in what you consider their dominant language.

Although you are a native speaker of the minority language, when you take your break, you speak in English with your aide and with other colleagues both in class and in the corridor on the way to the teachers' room. In class, you are mindful of the languages that you and your aide speak. To a certain extent, you are also mindful of the languages that the students use with you and among each other. In actuality, they tend to prefer to speak English in most situations, even those students who are supposedly dominant in the minority language. You really don't know which language they think in when processing mathematical information, science problems, or information in other fields.

Your program is, in theory, a two-way program, in that monolingual English speakers (both from the minority and from the majority groups) and minority language speakers are receiving schooling in and through the minority language as well as through English. In reality, you have not paid too much attention to use of the minority language by English-dominant students, since their learning of that language has been viewed as less important for survival in the society. The principle target group has been those students who are dominant in the minority language.

In their stopwatch procedures, the federal evaluators concentrate mostly on teacher talk because it constitutes almost 80 percent of the classroom talk that is audible to them. They find that you tend to use the minority language more than English. They also find that you use the minority language primarily for classroom management activities, particularly for disciplinary purposes, and English to discuss content—not only in math lessons but in minority language reading lessons as well.

The visit of these outside evaluators perks your own interest in the language use patterns of children in your class, so you decide to do several things. You place a microphone or two around the classroom and tape the language that bilingual minority students use among themselves. Interestingly, you find that they tend to use the *minority* language for management among themselves and English for discussing content, such as for solving math problems. You also ask students to keep logs of the language that they use to think in at various intervals during several different lessons. Most of the students report that they are trying to think in English even if the formal language of the class is the minority language.

EXERCISE

Given the language use patterns described above, how would you characterize the support that is being given to the minority language and why? What do you think the relative effect of these patterns will be on minority language maintenance as opposed to transition to English language use? Assuming that you as a teacher desire more minority language use in the classroom, which patterns might it be desirable to change? How effective do you think such changes will be?

DISCUSSION

Counting minutes of instruction in each language is a questionable means of determining whether there is "equal treatment" of both languages. It is not so much the amount of time that each language is used, but what the functions of that use are. You may spend more minutes in the minority language, for example, but still signal through particular patterns that it is better to use English for "important" tasks such as solving problems, while the minority language is OK for disciplining students. You may also signal that it is more fun to use English when relaxing during a break.

You should come out of this exercise with the feeling that the program just described emphasizes transition to English language use. Teacher patterns in the class are signaling that English language use is more prestigious, regardless of the teacher's efforts to make a show of using the minority language. If the teacher is interested in promoting more extensive minority language use, there are several possible approaches:

1. Switch from a concurrent approach to one that devotes longer periods (even entire days) to minority language use exclusively. There is some evidence that alternate use of the two languages—i.e., one language as the medium in the morning and the other language in the afternoon, without repetition of the same content—may be more effective than certain concurrent approaches in producing better gains in communicative competence in both languages, as well as in oral comprehension in English (Legarreta, 1979). In all fairness, the concurrent approach studied tended to encourage predominant use of English (72 percent of the time). Perhaps the concurrent model advocated by Jacobson (1979) ensures a more balanced use of the languages. But Dulay and Burt (1978) give theoretical support to the opinion that students tune out the language that they do not understand and wait for the one that they do understand.

2. Avoid marking the minority language as less prestigious by relegating its use in class to remedial or disciplinary functions. The students need to feel that the language has application to a variety of functions.

3. Be careful to use the minority language as much as possible outside of formal instructional periods, such as during breaks. In other words, give the students a live model of how the language can be used comfortably in less formal environments.

4. Provide the students with frequent examples of how you "think out loud" in the minority language. It may be that the students

lack the minority language terms for thinking through and ultimately solving problems.

5. Provide activities for stimulating monolingual English speakers to use the minority language in the classroom, if this is a program goal. One such activity is to engage these students in *immersion* instructional activities wherein they are homogeneously grouped with other monolingual English speakers for certain sessions in the minority language so that they need not feel they are competing with native speakers of the language (see Cohen and Swain, 1976). At other times, the participation of minority language speakers may expressly encourage the participation of the nonnative speakers as well.

In reality, bilingual classroom programs may have some effect on language use patterns, both at school and at home, e.g., in fostering continued use of the minority language beyond what that use would be without the bilingual program (see, for example, Cohen, 1975b, chapter 9). But ultimately societal forces may determine language use patterns; especially by the fifth-grade level described in this vignette, those societal forces may be more influential than any that can be generated within the classroom. These societal forces include, first and foremost, the media—especially television, as well as newspapers and magazines. Also, the social groups which the student comes in contact with and participates in can be very influential, e.g., the local peer group, Boy Scouts, athletic teams. People on the street, merchants in stores, and others can also have a profound influence upon the language minority child, who most likely does not want to appear different. Unless the society provides for regular use of the minority language for certain social functions, it will cease to be used and the majority language will take its place (see Fishman, 1972, chapter 6, "Societal Bilingualism: Stable and Transitional").

Principle 5

Functional Language Ability

Language researchers are realizing that there is more to achieving language proficiency than mastering grammatical inflections, prepositions, negation, and interrogative forms. Assessment of speaking skills in bilingual programs has traditionally consisted of a tally of such errors (see Cohen, 1975b, chapter 8; 1980a). Thus, the focus has been largely on deviance or on what the student does not seem to have mastered. A complement and perhaps more productive approach is to assess what the student can do with the language, particularly the ability to function successfully in it. In this functional approach the emphasis is on the student's command of communicative functions, i.e., the ability to perform certain speech acts in the classroom, to comprehend what they mean when others perform them, and to comprehend their meaning when they occur in reading texts. A "speech act" is the act of doing something in saying something. For example, native-speaking children know that they have a variety of ways to request something. So, in order to request that someone open a window, they may say, "It's hot in here." This declarative statement would then serve as a request (the speech act).

The following is a tentative list of those speech acts identified by one researcher as most crucial to communication in the elementary school classroom environment: pleas, suggestions, requests, demands, orders, warnings, threats, promises, authorizations, and apologies (Walters, 1979). As it turns out, the speaker rarely uses the direct form of the speech act (e.g., "I request the eraser") but rather uses other strategies such as asking about ability ("Could you pass the eraser?"), asking about location ("Where's the eraser?"), expressing a need ("I need the eraser"), and so forth.

EXAMPLE

An assessment of speaking skills has just been conducted at your bilingual school, using a test with a series of picture-based items eliciting spoken responses, each item assessing proficiency with respect to one or more forms. For example, one item showed a broken juice bottle on the floor with a disturbed youngster standing over it. The student was asked, "What happened to the bottle?" The item was testing for proficiency in using the past tense (e.g., "The boy *dropped* it," "It *fell*," etc.). Other items tested for knowledge of various grammatical inflections, prepositions, negation, and interrogative forms. The children from your second-grade class were tested individually in a separate room in both the minority language and in English. If the student did not respond to an item, the investigator used prompting questions.

Perusing your students' scores, you are surprised to find that these scores do not seem to give an accurate picture of the overall speaking abilities of your students as you have obtained it from hearing them converse in natural communicative situations on a day-to-day basis. You have a hunch that certain students have a good command of speech acts despite the conspicuous grammatical inaccuracies that they produce, and that other students may be good at grammar but limited in the ability to communicate functionally.

EXERCISE

Let us suppose that you feel the evaluator's concept of language proficiency is too restricted. Think of some approaches you might suggest to the evaluator in order to reveal a measure of your students' abilities to make requests or suggestions, promises, apologies, and so forth. The evaluator may be the final judge of what language instruments will be used in assessment, but it may be beneficial for you to provide input about areas worthy of investigation. Let us assume in this case that thanks to the suggestions you provide about how to measure success at certain speech acts, the evaluator alone—or with your assistance—decides to develop a test of this kind. You may have no formal training in the construction of language tests, but your daily teaching activities undoubtedly include a variety of techniques for eliciting meaningful, communicative language from your students. Describe these kinds of techniques as you would for the evaluator developing the test.

DISCUSSION

Concern for assessing the functional language ability of children in bilingual programs is growing (see Canale and Swain, 1980). One concern is to assess more than the student's knowledge about how the language works, specifically to assess the ability to demonstrate this knowledge in a meaningful communicative situation. And within the area of performance testing, more and more emphasis is being placed on demonstrating a grasp of speech acts, such as requesting or apologizing. Walters (1979) describes a testing situation in which an adult, possibly the teacher, uses a puppet to initiate a conversation with the student in four situations (supermarket, lunch, outside at play, and outside selling cookies). This puppet functions as a "friend" of the child. In each conversation, the student is called upon to request something of a second puppet. Here is a portion of a conversation at the supermarket:

> **Friend puppet:** "Wow! The lines are really long. I've got to get home by three or my mother will kill me. Ask this guy in front of us if we can go first."
>
> **Student:** [Target request]
>
> **Puppet #2:** "Sure, you only have two items. Go ahead."

Of course, obtaining the data is only half the task. Determining how to analyze them is the other half. Too often, imaginatively collected data are submitted to a traditional count of grammatical errors. Assuming that the instrument is assessing a student's ability to make requests in a role-playing situation, Walters (1979) suggests that the student's score could be the number of different ways that the speaker requests things. This approach would require that there be enough role-playing situations to elicit the speaker's full repertoire of strategies. Another approach that Walters suggests is to assign each request strategy a value based on some property, such as politeness. Then the measure of communicative ability becomes the range in politeness that a speaker is capable of producing.

Another approach to scoring has been designed for evaluating the ability to apologize in English (Cohen and Olshtain, 1980). First of all, the speech act of apologizing was broken down into four possible semantic formulas: expressing an apology (e.g., "I'm sorry"); acknowledging responsibility ("That was silly of me"); offering repair ("What can I do to help?"); and promising forbearance ("It won't happen again"). The expression of an apology was further broken down into four subformulas: expressing regret ("I'm really sorry"); requesting forgiveness ("Excuse me"); offering an apology ("I apologize"); and offering an excuse ("I forgot"). Then eight apology situations were

presented to native speakers of English (the target language) and to native speakers of Hebrew (the learners' native language). Their responses were used as a baseline for how natives apologize in both languages. Then learners of English were asked to apologize in the same situations. The data collected from native English speakers made it possible to determine whether deviations from the typical apology in English was a result of interference from patterns of apology in the native language (Hebrew, in this case) or simply a result of an inadequate grasp of English to enable such apologies to be expressed appropriately. The responses were scored according to how closely the student's apologies resembled those of native English speakers in each of the eight situations. The study was performed with college-age students, but it could easily be replicated with primary school children.

Many individuals reading this monograph may not have the appropriate knowledge for judging the acceptability of present assessment practices and for recommending alternate strategies for assessing functional language. It is clear that this whole direction for language assessment is just beginning to develop. Although the theoretical underpinnings have been available for years (Hymes, 1974; Ervin-Tripp, 1972), little has been done to put these principles in operation in terms of classroom assessment. Until such techniques have been more fully developed, it will be difficult to say what the best means of data analysis is or what particular advantages such speech act analysis has over more traditional approaches.

Principle 6

Development of Language Skills

The way that each of a student's two languages develops in a bilingual program may be of interest, particularly in cases where the student is having difficulties. *Development* here refers to the incremental changes that may occur over time in each of a student's language skills: speaking, listening, reading, and writing. Such information is not necessarily recoverable from evaluation of interim and end-of-year achievement in a program. Teachers can provide some information, however anecdotal, e.g., a description of problems that the student, who is not very proficient in the native language, has when learning through both languages simultaneously. The skill that has received extensive attention—perhaps because we seem to know the most about how to teach it—is reading. Perhaps teachers could write down comments that the students make or have the students explain the reading strategies that they are using to get meaning from the passage (see Hosenfeld, 1979).

Even if evaluations include measures of achievement more frequently than once a year, a certain amount of information is lost in the testing process because evaluators do not know what process students use to answer test questions. I am suggesting here that the teacher can use the evaluator's standardized reading test (and tests of other skills as well) as a vehicle for better understanding where the poor reader experiences difficulty in reading. Perhaps the teachers could go over certain items on a test with the students, discussing how the students read the stimulus material and their reasoning behind choosing certain answers (see Cohen, 1980b, chapter 3). It may be that a student answers certain test items wrong because of limited

reading ability. A discussion session with the student could help pinpoint the source of the difficulty, if the teacher doesn't know it already (e.g., problems decoding letters, limited vocabulary).

It is also possible that the processes whereby the student arrives at answers to certain reading items are well based, i.e., based on sound reasoning, strong powers of inference, and so forth. But the items themselves may have certain confusing properties. Of course, the main purpose of such an exercise is not to critique the particular reading test, but rather to determine what specific problems the poor reader is having in trying to read—and specifically when trying to read material contained in reading tests. By talking with students about their answering strategies, it is possible to obtain some of this information.

EXAMPLE

You are a third-grade teacher in a bilingual program that has just begun a new school year. There is a group of ethnic minority children in your class who are having difficulty keeping up with the other children in reading in the minority language. As sometimes happens in your class, some of the *best* readers of the minority language are majority-group native English speakers. They have successfully transferred English reading skills to reading in the minority language. Some of the minority students are also quite good readers in the minority language, especially several who began their schooling in their country of origin. The children having difficulty reading started the program in kindergarten as limited- or non-English speakers. Their reading test scores at the end of second grade indicate simply that they are having difficulty reading in the minority language.

EXERCISE

Think of ways that you could observe and assess the actual reading abilities and difficulties that these students are having in the minority language. Assuming that you could get copies of the reading tests given at the end of the previous year, how might you use these tests to better understand how these students (individually and collectively) go about reading in the minority language?

DISCUSSION

Evaluators are often interested in reporting results for large numbers of students because generalizations are easier to make from such results. But one problem with this approach is that certain kinds of information are not usually collected. For example, if certain minority students who should be reading comfortably in their native language at the third grade level are not doing so, the evaluator's report may leave the reasons for this finding open for speculation. If, on the other hand, the teacher has some documentation about why such a phenomenon exists, it may be useful to explain the result as well as to suggest means for changing this situation. In all fairness, there are evaluators who engage in formative evaluation with an emphasis on the process whereby a student achieves an objective. But such evaluation is time-consuming, and it may not, in practice, yield the kinds of information it is theoretically supposed to yield. From my own experience, recording the attainment of reading objectives turns into a form of bookkeeping. The current focus on reading strategies across objectives seems preferable.

You can begin by documenting the kinds of information about the reading program that are suggested under Principle 3. But even details about the instructional methods do not necessarily provide any insights concerning the student's individual experience in reading. The student's individual experience is something that the teacher (or perhaps an evaluator) would probe with each student personally. It may be that a minority student is experiencing "backlash interference" when reading in his native language, i.e., his expectations about how to get meaning from reading material are based more on inflections, sentence structure, and vocabulary of English than on those of his native language. Clearly much of the decoding process is transferable from language to language, but certain differences (such as word order) may prevail and may cause difficulties.

As a possible check for whether backlash interference is occurring, you could ask students to express in English what they have just read in their native language. It may be that their English language paraphrase will reveal a misreading due to factors such as word-order differences, grammatical differences, or vocabulary words that are false cognates across the language (i.e., appear to have the same meaning but do not, like *librería* in Spanish and *library* in English).

Beyond the Six Principles

Other Areas of Concern for Evaluation

The presentation of the six principles and accompanying situations was purposely slanted toward evaluation of language-related, classroom-centered issues in bilingual education. The main question that prompted the identification of such principles was "What makes bilingual education evaluation different from other kinds of school evaluation?" And the answer seemed to be "The use of two languages as vehicles for instruction." Thus, it is no coincidence that all the principles deal in some way with language-related evaluation. This is not to say that evaluation of math, social studies, science, and so forth, is of less importance, but simply that evaluation in these areas has a more solid base of experience to draw from, whereas bilingual education evaluation is a relatively recent phenomenon. Only in the past several years has the field of bilingual evaluation been able to boast an array of assessment instruments (see, for example, Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education, 1975; Silverman et al., 1976; Pletcher et al., 1978).

The "newest" aspect of evaluation in the subject areas may, in fact, be that subject-matter tests now have to (or should) appear in at least two languages. But here again, the problem is primarily one of *language*. Is the minority language test a translation from the English version? If so, is it a meaningful translation, given the sociocultural context of the target-language group? If the test is not a translation and was not meant to be, then are the English and minority language tests comparable in scope and difficulty? There is a host of other questions that could also be posed.

There are areas of concern for evaluation of bilingual education programs that are not taken up in the six principles discussed pre-

viously. One concern is that of setting the school in its context. Mention of context was made only in passing, with regard to Principle 1, the program model, type, and design. Various aspects of school context could be described and evaluated, such as the ethnic composition of the school staff, the locus of the program within the school structure, the degree of institutionalization of the program, and the extent of the program's dependency upon federal funds as opposed to local funding sources. The classroom teacher may have some insights to share with the evaluator in these areas. The evaluator is likely to obtain some of this information from school administrators, including the director of the bilingual program, if there is one.

Another concern is the cultural background of the students, given their particular ethnic affiliations. The role of culture in bilingual education is a broad matter and has been treated in detail elsewhere (see, for example, Saville-Troike, 1978). Suffice it to say here that an evaluator might be concerned with how the student's cultural background influences the behavior that is being assessed. For example, when assessing language use patterns, the evaluator would probably want to be cognizant of any cultural factors that would influence both whom students talk to, in what context, what they talk about, and which language or language variety they use. It may be misleading, in other words, to use some majority-group framework for judging conversational skills and appropriate choice of language, when the minority culture would have another framework. For example, acceptable ways of requesting things in the minority language may appear rude in mainstream conversation.

Take the example of a simple request to a student to open the door. In the minority language, it may be perfectly polite to give the direct command, "Open the door." Depending on the circumstances, such a command may sound too rude in English. It may be necessary to soften the request through a question, e.g., "Could you open the door for me?" Also, what appears to be a surprisingly high use of English by minority language students in a bilingual program may result from the students' desire to please the teacher by using the teacher's native language, which in this case turns out to be English. And if the teacher is a native speaker of the minority language, the student may likewise use the minority language more. Such student accommodation of the teacher's native language has actually been seen to take place (see, for example, Bruck, Shultz, and Rodríguez-Brown, 1979).

Culture also proves to be a crucial element in any formal testing situation. As Saville-Troike (1978) points out, "Testing is itself a social event. . . . Evaluation instruments can never be considered culturally neutral, no matter how 'objective' their format" (p. 49). We could, for example, ask whether the attitudinal measure referred to under Principle 1 is perhaps more culturally specific to the Anglo culture in

the United States. For example, is it culturally specific to conceptualize attitudes in terms of scales such as "self-acceptance"? Or even if such scales might have validity in other cultures, would the scales be composed of similar items, worded in similar ways? For example, in another culture perhaps self-acceptance is not so inner-directed a concept as in the United States. In another culture, accepting oneself may refer first and foremost to being a loyal member of the community. Thus, an item assessing self-acceptance in that culture might investigate the student's sense of commitment to the community. The item would also most likely be phrased in language consistent with the culture, i.e., in terms of commitment to the community.

Also, there is more to be said about the academic characteristics of the students being evaluated. The emphasis in the discussion of Principle 2, student characteristics, is on language and on the relationship between language and cognition. The students' ethnicity and the history of their involvement in bilingual schooling are also touched on. However, much more than this goes into a student's academic profile.

How well has the student performed in the content areas up until now? How well is the student performing at this point? For instance, the student may have completed two years of schooling in some other country and may have been weak in math there. Or the student may have been in a bilingual program from the start and may have had difficulties grasping science concepts, even when they were presented exclusively in the student's native tongue. It may be that the difficulties are due largely to the nature of the instruction.

For example, the student and the teacher(s) may not have gotten along well together, the curriculum materials may not have motivated the student adequately, the way the two languages were used in the classroom may not have been appropriate, and the like. In the past, it was felt that bilingual children's difficulties in school were likely to be a result of limited intellectual ability. Work over the last decade has shown that such assumptions were ill founded. For example, DeAvila developed a Piagetian-based measure of cognitive development consisting of five subscales for each of two levels (K-3, grades 4-6) (DeAvila and Havassy, 1974; DeAvila and Duncan, 1978b). He then tested it with over 6,000 Mexican American children, showing that their performance was similar to that of Anglos. He found differences, however, in school-related achievement. He concluded that these differences were due to linguistic and sociocultural biases inherent in most of the currently used educational approaches (DeAvila and Duncan, 1979).

Another factor which was only partially touched on is that of teacher variables. With respect to Principle 3, teacher and student language use patterns, it is suggested that teachers may consciously or unconsciously mark the minority language as less prestigious. There

are, of course, a number of other teacher factors, such as teacher personality, the extent and nature of teacher training, the teacher's proficiency in the two languages, the teacher's experience teaching through the two languages, the teacher's ability to provide a learning challenge that is compatible with the learning potential of the individual student, the teacher's ability to lead discussions in class so as to encourage student learning. A comprehensive listing of teacher factors relating specifically to bilingual instruction has appeared elsewhere (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1974), as well as extensive suggestions for what teacher-preparation programs in bilingual education at the undergraduate and graduate levels might consist of (Acosta and Blanco, 1978).

There is the problem, however, that teacher variables are not easy to evaluate objectively under any circumstances. A language-use variable, such as the teacher's choice of language for a particular activity or moment within an activity, may be easier to assess than variables concerning how effective the teacher's system of discipline is or how affirmatively the teacher responds to students' attempts to express themselves. Even if such teacher variables are assessed effectively, books like those by Dunkin and Biddle (1974) and Brophy and Good (1974) seem to have dispelled the notion that teaching patterns such as limited "teacher talk" (Flanders, 1970) will produce more beneficial results than extensive teacher talk. Although a theoretical model might suggest that teachers should not talk too much, Dunkin and Biddle (1974) concluded from a review of various studies that there was no relationship between the extent of teacher talk and student achievement or attitudes. The study also found, among other things, that accepting pupils' ideas, praising students, and asking frequent questions did not necessarily lead to greater achievement on the part of the students.

Even if we could somehow accurately describe a number of characteristics of a particular teacher or teachers in a bilingual program, how could we ensure that teachers in a control or comparison group (if there is one) display similar characteristics, for comparison purposes? We usually cannot. Hence, we have the phenomenon, as found in the Redwood City study, of comparison-group teachers having many more years of experience in teaching English reading than bilingual-program teachers (Cohen, 1975b). Tucker and Cziko (1978) suggest that the best that one can do is to make sure that experimental and control class teachers are equally qualified. For this, we could turn to the list of qualifications for bilingual teacher certification developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics (1974).

The six principles also do not speak to the issue of parent and community involvement in the program. Actually, there is a growing concern regarding the role of parents and of the community at large in the workings of a bilingual program. For example, are parents simply a

group to be placated or informed, or are they a body that is to impose checks and balances, or even help to introduce change (Rodríguez, 1980)? And at what stages of program development (i.e., planning, implementation, or evaluation) are parents to be involved (Cruz, 1979)?

Although time-consuming to document, characteristics of the local community can provide the evaluator invaluable information to aid in interpreting results. In reality, very little research has been conducted regarding, for example, bilingual language proficiency and language use patterns of parents in the community, parental support for bilingual schooling, or parental knowledge about bilingual programs (Cohen, 1979). Knowledge about the language proficiency and language use patterns of parents of children in bilingual programs can contribute to the construction and selection of bilingual curriculum materials appropriate to the language background of the students. Such knowledge could, for example, help avert the development of materials that are too demanding in one language and not demanding enough in the other. Longitudinal research on language use patterns of families with children in bilingual programs can help inform program administrators about whether program language goals are being met (e.g., whether the minority language is being maintained, if this is a goal; see Cohen, 1975b, chapter 9). Sometimes, information about the local community can be gleaned from school visits with parents, from home visits, from school trips, and in other ways.

Regarding parental involvement in the bilingual program, it is not a given that parents of children in a bilingual program are supportive of the program. Yet initial misgivings about bilingual schooling may give way to more positive feelings as parents see the results of the program. If parents are to make genuine choices about the bilingual schooling of their children, then they may need to be involved in program specifics at the three levels of planning, implementation, and evaluation, rather than simply endorse an abstraction, namely "bilingual education." It is possible that teachers can help parents play this sort of role and can help evaluators understand what the parental and community roles actually are in a given case, as well as what they could be.

There is still a need to improve questioning procedures in order to tap parental knowledge and opinions about bilingual schooling. Perhaps teachers can help obtain information beyond pat answers to interview questions. What is needed is an informal, natural environment in which honest comments would emerge. Sometimes evaluators can effect this, and sometimes they cannot. Teachers may be able to help.

Conclusions

This monograph has concentrated on how teachers can *assist* evaluators because clearly the teachers themselves do not have much time in their schedules for conducting evaluation, particularly formally. But teachers may have time for more informal evaluation, such as suggested in the vignettes. In fact, some of the descriptive information about the classroom may be relatively inaccessible to anyone but the teacher since it reflects cumulative insights gleaned from repeated encounters with students on a daily basis.

Let us take a look now in summary at some of the activities which have been suggested for teachers:

1. Gathering descriptive facts about how the bilingual schooling model, type, and design actually function on a daily basis
2. Providing data on students' language proficiency and on their cognitive functioning (i.e., their grasp of concepts) in both their native language and in their second language
3. Describing the teaching methods in the program (the approaches that are used on a daily basis), the teaching materials and how they are used, and any changes that occur in methods and materials over time
4. Gathering data, possibly tape-recorded, on teacher and student language use patterns
5. Reporting on student facility with speech acts (like requesting, suggesting, and apologizing) in both languages
6. Paying special attention to reading development in both languages, particularly among students with reading difficulties, so

that the teacher can provide insights to evaluators about what the reading test results mean in these cases.

It is a tall order to ask teachers to add more activities to their already busy schedules, but it may just be that activities such as those listed here will be welcome additions (assuming teachers are not already engaged in such activities, which they well may be). Not only would teachers increase the information for evaluators about what is being evaluated, but at the same time they may also bring their own conceptions of the program into sharper focus.

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